

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 07386 162005Z

62

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ISO-00 NIC-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04

RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 IO-14 ACDA-19 DRC-01

/148 W

----- 047738

R 161900Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8891

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

CINCPAC

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MOSCOW 7386

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, CH, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET CHINA POLICY: MOSCOW DEFENDS ITS APPROACH

1. SUMMARY. IZVESTIA ARTICLE OF APPARENT CENTRAL COMMITTEE
ORIGIN PRESENTS COMPREHENSIVE LIST OF SOVIET
GRIEVANCES AGAINST MAOIST CHINA, TOGETHER WITH IMPRESSIVE
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 07386 162005Z

ACCOUNT OF LARGELY FUTILE SOVIET EFFORTS TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS

OVER PAST FIVE YEARS. ARTICLE REVEALS THAT SOVIET OFFER OF NUCLEAR NON-USE OF FORCE TREATY IN JUNE 1973 WAS ACCOMPANIED BY BID FOR SUMMIT MEETING, AN OFFER WHICH REMAINS OPEN. ALTHOUGH RECENT INCIDENTS INVOLVING SOVIET HELICOPTER CREWMEN AND EXPULSION OF SOVIET DIPLOMATS ARE MENTIONED TANGENTIALLY, FOCUS OF ARTICLE IS GLOBAL. IT CAN BE READ AS A SORT OF WHITE PAPER ON SOVIET CHINA POLICY, PROBABLY DESIGNED FOR INTERNAL AND FRATERNAL COMMUNIST CONSUMPTION. END SUMMARY.

2. ARTICLE IN IZVESTIA MAY 15 EVENING EDITION BY O. BORISOV (PRESUMABLY A PSEUDONYM) LAYS FULL BLAME FOR STATE OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS AT CHINESE FEET AND TRACES "DELIBERATE AND CONSISTENT" ACTIONS OF MAO OVER PAST 15 YEARS WHICH CAUSED WORSENING OF RELATIONS. BORISOV CHARGES CCP WITH ABANDONING PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND ADOPTING SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM. HE CLAIMS THAT MAO TRIED TO PUT CPSU BEYOND THE PALE IN WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, AND TO EXCLUDE USSR FROM SOCIALIST SYSTEM. HE ACCUSES MAOISTS OF DUCKING THEIR OWN INTERNATIONALIST OBLIGATIONS IN THE WORLD MOVEMENT WHILE LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR A PLOT WITH IMPERIALIST FORCES.

3. ARTICLE POINTS OUT THAT CHINESE HAVE FOR SOME TIME SHIFTED FOCAL POINT OF THEIR ANTI-SOVIETISM FROM IDEOLOGICAL TO INTER-GOVERNMENTAL SPHERE. BORISOV ASSERTS THAT MAOIST LEADERSHIP NEEDS ANI-SOVIETISM TO PROMOTE INTERNAL COHESION, AND HAS THUS TRIED TO MAKE IT A LONG-TERM AND IRREVERSIBLE POLICY. TERRITORIAL CLAIMS AND WAR PSYCHOSIS ARE, IN BORISOV'S VIEW, REFLECTIONS OF THIS POLICY. HE CLAIMS THERE IS AMPLE EVIDENCE THAT MANY MEMBERS OF PRC LEADERSHIP DO NOT ACCEPT EXISTENCE OF "SOVIET THREAT," AMONG THEM LIN PIAO WHO WAS UNJUSTIFIABLY LABELED A SOVIET AGENT. HE ATTRIBUTES RESHUFFLE OF CADRES THROUGHOUT CHINA TO MAO'S FEAR OF DISSENT AGAINST ANTI-SOVIET POLICY AS WELL AS PURELY INTERNAL STRUGGLE FOR POWER.

4. SECOND HALF OF ARTICLE DESCRIBES WIDE-RANGING SOVIET EFFORTS TO CONDUCT CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE WITH PRC. MOST OF THESE HAVE BEEN PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED, BUT BORISOV REVEALS FOR FIRST TIME THAT JUNE 1973 PROPOSAL FOR NON-USE OF FORCE AGREEMENT WAS ACCOMPANIED BY OFFER OF MEETING AT ANY LEVEL INCLUDING SUMMIT, AN OFFER WHICH REMAINS OPEN. HE CLAIMS THAT 1969 LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 07386 162005Z

CHOU-KOSYGIN MEETING WAS ARRANGED AT SOVIET INITIATIVE, AND WAS FACILITATED BY SHARP CRITICISM OF MAOIST LINE BY FRATERNAL PARTIES AT 1969 WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE.

5. INTERESTING NUANCE OF ARTICLE IS FACT THAT IT QUOTES BREZHNEV'S LATEST (MARCH 1974) PUBLIC CALL FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH CHINA, QUOTES HIM AGAIN ON NEED FOR STRUGGLE AGAINST MAOIST IDEOLOGICAL DISTORTIONS (MAY 1974 MEETING WITH

GUS HALL), BUT REFRAINS FROM ATTRIBUTING TO BREZHNEV HIS MARCH 1972 OFFER OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" WITH CHINA. BORISOV'S ELABORATION OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE PROPOSAL SHOWS IT TO HAVE BEEN A PACKAGE OF TRADE, CULTURAL AND SIMILAR MEASURES. POSSIBLE REASON FOR NOT LINKING PACKAGE TO BREZHNEV IS THAT PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE LABEL IMPLIES DEALING WITH CHINA AS NON-SOCIALIST COUNTRY, AN ISSUE WHICH REPORTEDLY GENERATED CONTROVERSY AT CRIMEA COMMUNIST SUMMIT LAST SUMMER.

6. BORISOV CONCLUDES WITH LAMENT ABOUT TWO CHINESE "VICIOUS CIRCLES" WHICH PEKING USES TO OBSTRUCT IMPROVED RELATIONS. ONE IS CHINESE DEMAND FOR BORDER SETTLEMENT AS PREREQUISITE FOR PROGRESS IN OTHER AREAS -- WHILE AT SAME TIME LEVYING UNACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS IN BORDER TALKS SUCH AS PRIOR ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF CHINESE TERRITORIAL CLAIMS. (THIS WOULD OF COURSE APPLY ALSO TO CONDITION THAT SOVIETS WITHDRAW FROM DISPUTED AREAS, A DEMAND NOT MENTIONED BY BORISOV). SECOND VICIOUS CIRCLE IS CHINESE REJECTION OF NON-USE OF FORCE AGREEMENT ON GROUNDS THAT 1950 FRIENDSHIP TREATY COVERS THIS -- WHILE AT SAME TIME REFUSING TO CONFIRM OBLIGATIONS STEMMING FROM THAT TREATY AND DESCRIBING TREATY TO FOREIGN VISITORS AS A SCRAP OF PAPER. BORISOV OFFERS NO SOLUTION TO THESE VICIOUS CIRCLES BUT SIMPLY DECLARES THAT OBJECTIVE FACTORS WILL EVENTUALLY TRIUMPH OVER MAOIST DISTORTIONS.

7. COMMENT: APPEARANCE OF THIS IMPORTANT ARTICLE IN GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER IZVESTIYA RATHER THAN IN PARTY ORGAN PRAVDA IS CURIOUS; FREQUENT ALLUSION TO CPSU AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE THROUGHOUT ARTICLE AND REFERENCE TO 1969 WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE SUGGEST ARTICLE WAS PREPARED IN CENTRAL COMMITTEE. IT IS PROBABLY INTENDED FOR USE WITH INTERNAL AND FOREIGN PARTY CADRES AS AN APOLOGIA FOR SOVIET CHINA POLICY, AND MAY BE GEARED TO FORTHCOMING MULTILATERAL COMMUNIST MEETINGS. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 07386 162005Z

IN ITS WEALTH OF DETAIL IT PRESENTS SOVIET CASE ABLY, ALTHOUGH IT IS FORCED TO ACKNOWLEDGE IMPLICITLY THAT PROSPECTS FOR IMPROVEMENT ARE DIM WHILE MAO REMAINS IN CHARGE. WHILE ITS THRUST IS TO PRESENT USSR AS AGGRIEVED PARTY, IT MAKES NO REAL OR IMPLIED THREATS AGAINST CHINA AND OVERALL PRESENTS RELATIVELY CONCILIATORY STANCE AT THIS TIME OF CONTINUED TURMOIL IN THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP. STOESSEL

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, PRESS COMMENTS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 MAY 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974MOSCOW07386
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740121-0985
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740542/aaaablir.tel
Line Count: 162
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24 APR 2002 by kellew0>; APPROVED <13 JUN 2002 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOVIET CHINA POLICY: MOSCOW DEFENDS ITS APPROACH
TAGS: PFOR, CH, UR, IZVESTIA
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005